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FROM: IAD/SEG/IB		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	extension 1073	NO. DATE 24 January 1984
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MEMORANDUM	FOR: Deputy Director for Operations	
INFO	: Chief, Soviet and East European Division Chief, Counterintelligence Staff Chief, International Activities Division	
FROM	: Chief, Evaluation and Plans Staff	
SUBJECT	: Approval of OPACT PDDYNAMIC-FY83 and FY84	

1. Description: Operational Activity PDDYNAMIC supports a Ukranian exile group headquartered in New York and the group's printing and publishing facility in Munich. The goal of PDDYNAMIC activity is to publish and infiltrate into the USSR literature aimed at keeping alive the Ukrainian nationalist spirit, and to support Ukranian groups who oppose Soviet policy.

2. Authority: OPACT PDDYNAMIC is authorized by the 7 June 1978 Presidential Finding and responds to the Directorate's Objective T. It is also in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (as amended).

3. EPS Comments: Comparing the above stated goal for PDDYNAMIC activity against the OPACT renewal is revealing. The degree to which operational activity is increasing suggests that the OPACT renewal is predicated, at least in part, on the assumption that the Expanded Finding for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will also be approved. Examples of increased activity include, but are not limited to, targeting Russian audiences; new distribution methods into the USSR from China, Australia, Afghanistan and Japan; a new office in London; a pilot project in Tokyo; and plans to exchange with the PRC literature dealing with the Soviet nationality problems. These examples seem to range beyond Ukranian issues and could lead to serious resource implications for the Directorate. A point made in the previous OPACT review remains valid: Any direct impact on Soviet policy or the Soviet political system cannot be demonstrated. There is no measureable means by which to accurately determine what percentage of PDDYNAMIC literature is

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actually reaching its intended audience. And, we believe, some forms of propaganda, particularly the stickers, have no demonstrable effect and should be either significantly decreased or dropped altogether.

EPS Recommendation: Although a longstanding activity, 4. PDDYNAMIC has little in the way of positive accomplishments to show for the money and time which have been invested in it. As an activity of this kind cannot be terminated abruptly, EPS concurs in retroactive approval for FY 83 and projected funding EPS recommends, however, that OPACT PDDYNAMIC be for FY 84. terminated at the end of FY 84; and that steps be taken immediately to inform PDDYNAMIC assets of this decision, and to identify other areas where the funds projected for PDDYNAMIC can be more effectively used. (Note: Amounts appearing on Form 848 have been changed by EPS/Comptroller to reflect approval for both FY83 and FY84. These changes reflect the amounts requested, not the amounts programmed. As a matter of form, EPS does not understand why an OPACT renewal for PDDYNAMIC was not submitted in FY 83, as is the standard procedure for OPACTS.)

PREVIOUS ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT:

FY-1983 and FY-1984 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

## PURPOSE:

1. PDDYNAMIC is the operational activity of the Soviet/EE CA program under which a controlled subsidy supports the Ukrainian Liberation Council (ZP/UHVR) and more directly its publishing and operational element, Prolog research Corporation, located in New York. An affiliate in Munich, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, publishes a monthly political-literary magazine Suchasnist (Contemporary Times). books, pamphlets, and leaflets (primarily in Ukrainian but occasionally in Russian) for infiltration and clandestine distribution into the Soviet Ukraine, or for passing to official Soviet representatives or travelers abroad. The main purpose of the group's activities and publications is to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainian oppositional groups who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalizing trends among various strata of the Ukrainian population who oppose the repressive Soviet policy of enforced Russification. This activity is in furtherance of DDO Objective T.

2. This activity is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, in that it is covered by a Presidential Finding dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported to the appropriate Congressional committees.

#### **ACCOMPLISHMENTS:**

3. During the twelve month period of FY 1983, an estimated total of 38,264 items of PDDYNAMIC - produced literature/stickers were distributed/infiltrated into the Ukraine. These items were either hand carried or mailed into the Ukraine. PDDYNAMIC and its publications branch, <u>Suchasnist</u>, have continued to publish the monthly magazine <u>Suchasnist</u>, a 127 page Ukrainian language magazine dealing with socio-political, literary and current affairs. Despite

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SUBJECT: FY-1984 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

editorial problems of 1982, which resulted from a change in editor in 1981, and a few issues that were not published; in 1983 a new editor has taken over the journal and is now producing it on a regular basis maintaining the high level of the publication. The journal Suchasnist is highly regarded as the best Ukrainian language journal published in the West. There have been numerous testimonials from within the Ukrainian SSR (both from dissident circles who read issues of it and from the Soviet press which continues to attack it frequently.) An estimated total of 5,474 copies of Suchasnist were infiltrated into the Ukraine. In addition to this, PDDYNAMIC continued with an ongoing program of publishing reprints from the journal Suchasnist, having them reduced in size. In FY-1983 6,149 of these reprints were mailed into the USSR from different cities throughout the world.

4. The book publication program of <u>Suchasnist</u> has also continued to develop during FY-1983. This program is a varied one. It includes political literature, novels, poetry, and translations into Ukrainian from other languages. During FY-1983 a total of 9,743 books were mailed and infiltrated into the Ukraine. Among these were: <u>Selected Articles on the</u> Nationality Question; In the World of Ideas and Images; and <u>Poems, Selected and Next to the Last. During this period</u> <u>PDDYNAMIC received numerous requests for this type of</u> literature from people in the Ukraine, from the Ukrainians in Poland, Romania, and other Eastern Bloc countries. PDDYNAMIC had to gear its publishing program to meet these needs. The greatest demand came for Ukrainian Catholic literature.

5. The other aspect of PDDYNAMIC publishing program for FY-1983 dealt with reprinting timeless materials - reproducing those books in pocket size format to facilitate distribution into the USSR. In FY-1983 PDDYNAMIC reprinted the following: Internationalism or Russification?, work produced by a Ukrainian dissident; Litopys UPA a documentary history of the Ukrainian Partisan Army(UPA); In the Forests of the Lemko Region, a book which deals with the UPA struggle; <u>History's</u> Carnival; and others.

6. A new aspect was brought into PDDYNAMIC FY-1983 publications program. PDDYNAMIC began publishing the quarterly Russian language journal FORUM. The motivation for this was to provide the Russian audience in the USSR with materials dealing with the nationality problems as well as showing them that there exists a Russian democratic group which is anti-imperialist in its outlook and supports national

self-determination for the non-Russian people of the USSR. The journal, Forum, is edited by a native Russian individual who was formally a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki watch group in Kiev. During FY-1983, there were 545 copies of the journal, Forum, infiltrated into the USSR.

7. PDDYNAMIC is not merely a publishing house of Ukrainian literature, but also the distributor of a majority of its own publications. During FY-1983, PDDYNAMIC concentrated a lot of effort on supplying the Ukrainian groups in Poland with a sizable amount of Ukrainian literature which will be used for eventual distribution into the Ukraine. At the same time, a start was made to supply Ukrainian literature to the Ukrainians living in Rumania who in turn will infiltrate it into the Ukraine.

Also during this period, PDDYNAMIC hand carried 84 Lithuanian books to that country, mailed 192 to Poland, passed on to Soviet tourist in the West 27 books and 28 tapes. There were 178 books sent to China. Furthermore, in FY-1983, PDDYNAMIC began a more concentrated program of distributing religious literature into the Ukraine. This was done to meet an increasing demand from inside the Ukraine for this type of literature.

As in the past, the distribution of Ukrainian literature was done from different parts of the world - either by direct mail, hand carried, given to Soviet Ukrainian tourists and officials in the West, or via mailing from Eastern Europe. The bulk of distribution for PDDYNAMIC's new publication, <u>Forum</u>, was done by the PDPORTAL.

8. In order to expand distribution, PDDYNAMIC continued to look for new channels. In FY-1983, PDDYNAMIC began a pilot project in Tokyo which will include both literature distribution and CA activitiy into the USSR. To increase operational capabilities in Europe PDDYNAMIC established an office in London and a young British citizen of Ukrainian decent was put in charge of it. The office and its employees have been very active during this period and already have expanded their contacts with young people of Ukrainian, Polish, Russian, and other nationalities who are willing to take part in distribution of PDDYNAMIC publications, etc. 'During this reporting period there were nine people sent to Poland, as well as three to Moscow, and two to Rumania. All those people have

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SUBJECT: FY-1984 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

taken in some books, cameras, tape recorders, stickers, and money to help finance the ongoing operations.

9. In addition to journals, books, and reprints infiltrated into the Ukraine, in FY-1983 PDDYNAMIC also began a number of CA operations. The projects undertook were:

> a. PDDYNAMIC infiltrated 215 tapes, hand carried into the USSR and put up by hand 1,100 stickers, and delivered six hand stamping devices.

> b. Anti-Afghanistan war project was designed to stimulate anti-Afghanistan war feelings in the different republics of the USSR. Along this line, PDDYNAMIC prepared a number of different anti-war posters, rubber stamps, etc. and infiltrated them back into the target area. Twenty-five hand stamping devices were taken into Afghanistan.

> c. Another project along this line was the "Prague Peace Project" designed to disrupt the world Peace Congress in Prague in June of 1983. Posters were prepared in Czech and Polish, and infiltrated into the two countries. PDDYNAMIC contacted members of groups invited to the Peace Congress and asked them to raise the issues of Afghanistan, Martial Law in Poland, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia. There were 5,600 stickers taken into Czechoslovakia and many were put up before the local forces took them down. This project including the posting of stickers was covered by BBC-TV.

> d. A third pilot project in this line was the production, in Polish, of a number of slogans on self-inking rubber stamps, which were infiltrated into Poland. These rubber stamps were used to stamp Polish currency with anti-regime and pro-solidarity slogans. About 60 stamps were made (good for 600,000 impressions without re-inking). Altogether there were 25 slogans made. In addition, there were 47 hand stamping devices, dealing with "Prague Peace Congress," taken into Poland.

> Overall, during FY-1983, there were 15,400 stickers, dealing with different slogans, taken into the Eastern Bloc countries and put up.

10. In FY-1983, PDDYNAMIC continued its policy of trying to work with other groups which have interests similar to PDDYNAMIC. During this reporting period, PDDYNAMIC concentrated its efforts on cooperating with different Polish groups involved with Solidarity and the underground press. One of PDDYNAMIC's major accomplishments in this area was working with and supporting a gent. (Reported in ).

Another new channel for literature distribution which was explored during FY-1983 by PDDYNAMIC, dealt with the establishment of Baltic channels. This channel would have a multifold purpose: to enlarge PDDYNAMIC capabilities and to begin a literture distribution via Baltic Republics. Some contacts were established to the Baltic groups in Germany, Sweden and England.

A contact was established with a Vietnamese Group in Paris, which publishes the journal <u>Que Me</u>. Also during this period, PDDYNAMIC continued contacts with the PRC. These contacts involved providing the PRC side with contemporary literature on current Soviet affairs and probing for possible future exchange of representatives. The PRC side has constantly expressed a desire to slowly increase cooperation with PDDYNAMIC's organization.

11. As in the past, PDDYNAMIC continued providing to foreign newsmen materials dealing with the current situation in the Ukraine. One of PDDYNAMIC's free-lance employees in London regularly contributes to a number of British newspapers and in this capacity has been able to place a number of articles useful to PDDYNAMIC objectives.

12. The PDDYNAMIC research effort has been devoted to different aspects of trends and contemporary events in the Ukraine. In FY-1983, PDDYNAMIC provided trip reports from travelers to the Ukraine, their observations, discussions with PDDYNAMIC contacts in the Ukraine and with relatives and friends they have there. These reports dealt with the popular reaction in the Ukraine to the war in Afghanistan, to the situation in Poland, current economic problems, CPSU affairs and other questions. Those travelers also brought back local newspapers, telephone directories, photographs and similar information. This information was provided for SE Division Reports for general background information on the Ukraine and has also resulted in 2 disseminations.

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SUBJECT: FY-1984 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

#### **EFFECTIVENESS:**

13. The effectiveness of the PDDYNAMIC publication/CA program and distribution program is attested to by numerous testimonials from within the Ukrainian SSR, both from dissident circles who read PDDYNAMIC publications and from the Soviet press which continues to attack it frequently. One of the returning travelers from the Ukraine has said that he read in a local newspaper such comments as: "Lately nationalist emigre centers are actively trying to use the mails to influence certain ideologically unstable individuals in our oblast (Lvov oblast - ed). Every year we receive many packages, letters and packets, mainly from the USA, Canada, France, Germany and England . . . " The official Ukrainian language newspaper in Poland, Nashe Scovo, reprinted exerpts of poems which were published in Suchasnist. Ukrainians from Poland have been submitting materials from themselves for publication in Suchasnist. Tourists returning from the Ukraine have stated that they heard from relatives and friends who say that they read Suchasnist. London Times covered the anti-Afghanistan war stickers which were produced by PDDYNAMIC and taken into the USSR by a group of Japanese travelers. Stickers made by PDDYNAMIC and distributed during the Prague Peace Congress in Prague was covered by the BBC television. Furthermore, the Polish underground journal Oboz has reprinted articles from Suchasnist (after translating them into Polish).

A number of travellers to Poland have seen PDDYNAMIC publications being circulated by Ukrainians in Poland and heard very positive comments about PDDYNAMIC publications from university professors of Ukrainian descent who have ties to the Polish intellectuals. The University of Lublin Library sent PDDYNAMIC a number of letters thanking him for publications and asking for more. The reason the library is asking for more books is because these books are being stolen from the library by the students and circulated among the people.

#### **PROBLEMS**:

14. The greatest difficulty in FY-1983 related to the ability of PDDYNAMIC to distribute, by the hand carried method, literature into the Ukraine. This method, the best one by far, is also the most difficult one. The KGB offensive in the Ukraine since the early 1970's has created greater fear among those who would potentially hand carry PDDYNAMIC publications into the country, and among people in the Ukraine who are

afraid to take literature in any great quantity. To counter this, PDDYNAMIC has given more emphasis upon other devices for carrying the message across - stickers, cassettes, etc. These were easier to take in and distribute without implicating anyone in the Ukraine.

15. Without a doubt PDDYNAMIC journal, Suchasnist, continues to produce high quality material on literary and sociological matters, and has added a useful political element over the last several years. Nevertheless, there has been a clear lack of political, historical, and economic materials destined for the upper reaches of the Ukrainian Intelligencia, including government cadre. This need will be addressed to by the new  $\Box$   $\Box$  operation which will begin its publishing activity in FY-1984.

16. As a result of Headquarters audit of PDDYNAMIC project, recommendations were made regarding: Administration of a deferred compensation plan, improvements in financial records and administration, cover documentation for Agency funding, and changes in the ownership of PDDYNAMIC. During FY-1983 recommendations regarding administration of deferred compensation plan, improvements in financial records and administration were discussed with PDDYNAMIC and implemented. Recommendations regarding cover documentation for Agency funding and changes in the ownership of PDDYNAMIC are under discussion with PDDYNAMIC/57 and is being reviewed in detail with the Cover Staff. Action will be taken during FY-1984 to reclassify the project from a controlled subsidy to a proprietary.

#### PLANS:

In order to meet the demand for ongoing analysis of 17. the world situation and the views on current Soviet policies -PDDYNAMIC will need to, in FY 1984, provide more pocket-size issues of PDDYNAMIC journals Suchasnist and Forum (as of now, the format for journal Forum is suitable for distribution). Another area of increased interest is Ukrainian Catholicism and the appropriate literature for this field. PDDYNAMIC will try to provide more books in pocket-size format. In the future, more emphasis will be placed on infiltrating not only books and literature into the USSR, but posters, tapes, rubber stamps, These objects are easier to bring in, can be buttons, etc. attached with ease to walls, phone booths, etc. This type of activity gets much greater attention among the population than books brought in.

a. PDDYNAMIC will continue to explore the possibility of setting up a distribution organization in Rumania in order to expand its infiltration routes into the Ukraine. This will involve investigating the status of Ukrainian minority in that country and to see what border traffic exists between Rumania and the Ukraine. Contacts will continue with the Ukrainian emigres from Rumania, who are in the West, for purpose of debriefing them on the current situation and availability of resources in that country.

During the early part of FY 1984, PDDYNAMIC/57 b. will travel to China, Australia, Afghanistan, Japan and Europe to contact his sources in those countries and to explore new methods/routes for infiltrating PDDYNAMIC materials into the USSR. During this trip, PDDYNAMIC/57 will visit the Tokyo office for purpose of turning over the operation to a Japanese national who will run the Tokyo office and publish Samizdat: Inner Report from the USSR. The new base will be used for distribution of PDDYNAMIC literature into the USSR. During his stop-over in London, PDDYNAMIC/57 will finalize the preparations for the publishing of a newsletter, which will be put out by PDDYNAMIC's office in London. The title of this newsletter will be Soviet Nationality Survey and it will deal with providing concise and topical information about the "other Russia" - it's problems, and it's relationship to Russians.

PDDYNAMIC plans to continue publication of the c. Ukrainian language journal Suchasnist, the Information Bulletin, Russian language journal Forum, and to publish as many Ukrainian language manuscripts as the budget will allow. Including in this list a wide range of titles among which are: "The Captive Mind" translated from Polish; "A History of Ukraine," by Roman SZPORLIUK; "1984" (Ukrainian translation); "Language Policy in Soviet Ukraine," by Roman SOLCHANYK; "Language Question in the Ukraine in the 20th Century," by George Shevelov. In addition, PDDYNAMIC would like to proceed with greater tape cassette distribution, and already is in the process of getting together Ukrainian popular music, poems and political topics to be used in recording the cassettes.

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d. Finally, to protest the planned deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles in Czechoslovakia, PDDYNAMIC proposed to organize a poster/sticker campaign inside Eastern Bloc countries. To counter the Soviet sponsored "International Youth Year," PDDYNAMIC proposed to examine the possiblity of an intervention by PDDYNAMIC and associated groups in 1985 on a worldwide basis. This preliminary study would concentrate upon what events are being planned, in which countries they will be held, who are the participants and what types of interventions are feasible. Also, PDDYNAMIC plans to continue to maintain some links to the PRC in FY-1984 - exchange scholars and provide them with literature dealing with the Soviet nationality problems.

#### COSTS:

18. It is requested that operational activity PDDYNAMIC be renewed for FY-1984 in the amount of  $\mathcal{I}$  and retroactively for FY-1983 in the amount of  $\mathcal{I}$ .

#### SOURCE OF FUNDS

Funds for PDDYNAMIC were included in the IAD/SAC operational program for FY-1984 in the amount of (, , Through reprogramming, the figure is being reduced to (, which should provide sufficient funds for the activity. For FY-1985 the operation has been programmed in the amount of (, ,

#### BUDGET

See attached breakdown.

#### FOREIGN FUNDS

No foreign currency problems. COMMITMENTS

There are no special commitments involving the PDDYNAMIC Activity.

#### FUNDING

In accordance with the approved administrative plan.

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# SUBJECT: FY-1984 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

# ACCOUNTABILITY

# All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the approved administrative plan.

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# SUBJECT: FY-1984 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

# BUDGET BREAKDOWN

	FY 1983	FY 1984	<u>FY 1985</u>
Cash Resources			
Beginning Cash Balance Agency Subsidy Book Sales & Subscr. Total Cash Avail.	\$ 5 000 89,000	\$ 5.000 90,000	\$ 5,000 <u>95,000</u>
Less Expenditures Ending Cash Balance	<u>()</u>	<u>(</u> ) ())	<u>(    )</u>
Expenditures			
Fixed Expenditures New York Office Sub-total Fixed Expenses	\$245,600 122,000 \$367,600	\$ 260,000 126,000 \$ 386,000	\$ 275,000 146,000 \$ 421,000
Operating Expenses		•	
Publishing Costs Microfilm System \$ Mat. Purchase of Books and Periodicals Distribution Costs Affilited Group-Munich London Office Tokyo Office Research & Contact Ops Operational Travel and Entertainment Sub-total Operating	\$198,000 20,000	\$ 210,000 10,000	\$ 240,000 10,000
	3,000 62,000	8,000 68,000	15,000 85,000
	101,000 55,000	106,000 60,000	120,000 70,000
	73,000 65,000	76,000 70,000	95,000 85,000
	18,400	21,000	25,000
Expenses	\$595,400	\$629,000	\$745,000
Total Expenditures	\$963,000	\$1,015,000	\$1,166,000